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that, let us say, of the time of Grant, and of contemporaneous society in Europe, does it not rather appear as if we had been lagging behind? Of many other questions which might be asked of Dr. Mowry, let me mention only one: How does our "more rapid" advancement agree with the tardiness in abolishing slavery?

As to the third "reason," that we have increased "the growth and broadening of our industries faster than has been the case with any other people," does Dr. Mowry not know of the growth of German industries during the last ten, aye, five years? As to the fourth point, does he not know of the development of knowledge, intelligence and learning in Europe when he claims that we have developed in this respect more rapidly than any other nation? It is impossible in the space of this article to treat extensively every point. But questions might be put like these: How does the illiteracy of native-born Americans compare with the percentages in Germany, Switzerland, Scandinavia? How the number of murders per thousand inhabitants here with that of all civilized nations? How about lynch justice? How about social legislation? And many others provoked by the expression of a national pride that forgets that superlatives always imply depreciation of the rest.

It is with great hesitancy that I have taken the pen to criticise an utterance of a deservedly eminent and well meaning educator like Dr. Mowry; but just because he holds such an influential position in his profession, his statements ought not to go unchallenged. The less so because many Americans, of whom he himself is an example, are brought up on these ideas without having, seemingly, the least suspicion of their erroneousness and the ridicule to which they expose their country with all broad-minded people at home and abroad.

No, my friends, it is not by the prayer of the Pharisee, elevating himself above the publican, that we gain the goodwill of others; it is not by teaching our children that they are far above those of all other nations that we make them treat international questions with fairness and imbue them with a respect for the rights of foreigners: but by teaching them that we owe the benefits of our civilization and culture to the combined effort of all nations; that no nation to-day has any advantage over the others, but that all work in common, according to their special gifts, for human progress and human solidarity; by teaching them that Moses was a Jew and Socrates a Greek, that Jesus was a Jew, Marcus Aurelius a Roman, Charles the Great a German as well as a Frenchman, Alfred the Great a Saxon, that Luther was German, that Calvin was French, Shakespeare English, Dante Italian, Corneille French, Cervantes Spanish, Goethe German, Descartes French, Hume English, Kant German, Raphael Italian, Dürer German, Rembrandt Dutch, Murillo Spanish, Thomas Payne English, Washington, Franklin, Jefferson American, Lafayette French, Steuben German, Whitney, Fulton, Morse American, Gutenberg German, Stephenson English, Galileo Italian, Copernicus German — why, there is no end of names, from all countries. Let us drop that ancient semi-barbarous kind of patriotism that only can feel great in belittling and irritating others.

Let us teach our boys to do their duty and work out their destiny in this beautiful land of ours for the progress of all mankind and its greatest ideals. Let us teach them that we owe everlasting gratitude to the other

nations for what they are doing for us, and that they are likewise under obligation for what we have done for them; that we must keep up with them in working for the general advancement, and that on the continuous exchange of these great goods the true civilization of the future, the solidarity of the human race, is founded, as it is symbolized by the lesser goods of commerce exchanged every day over the great connecting routes from land to land.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

## History of the American Peace Society and Its Work.

THE GROWTH OF INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION  
AND PEACE.

The American Peace Society held its first meeting and adopted its constitution in New York City on the 8th of May, 1828, seventy-nine years ago. It moved its headquarters to Hartford, Conn., in 1835, where it stopped until 1837. It then transferred its work to Boston, where it has remained ever since.

The Society grew out of the movement which had begun as far back as 1809,\* and had culminated in 1815 in the organization of the first peace societies. The New York Peace Society, the first in the world, was organized in August, 1815; the Ohio Peace Society followed on the 2d of December; and the Massachusetts Society, founded by the venerable Dr. Worcester, in the study of Dr. Channing, on the 26th of December the same year. These societies were soon followed by others, and within a dozen years there were organizations in Pennsylvania, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Georgia and North Carolina, in addition to the three States just mentioned. The whole Atlantic seaboard section of the country, then a large part of the nation, seemed moved throughout, as by a common impulse, with the conviction that the moment had come for a serious united effort to abolish war and to establish among the nations in its place a system of rational pacific adjustment of controversies. A similar movement in Great Britain originating about the same time ran parallel with the American movement.

This first great wave of peace effort, which grew rapidly and spread in every direction, continued unabated for more than forty years, till the eve of the Civil War. It was an expression of the true spirit and aim of American principles and institutions. No proper account of it has ever yet been given. When the history of the country shall finally be thoroughly and scientifically written, it will be found to have been one of the most profoundly significant and influential movements known to our annals.

Back of the origin of the American Peace Society lay thirteen years of difficult pioneer work in the above-named States, led by David L. Dodge, Noah Worcester, William E. Channing, William Ladd, Josiah Quincy, Samuel J. May, Henry Holcombe and others, and soon participated in by men of prominence in every calling,

\*The first tract put forth in this country for the cause of peace was written in 1809 by David L. Dodge, a merchant of New York City, grandfather of the late William E. Dodge. The title of the tract was "The Mediator's Kingdom not of this world." It was in Mr. Dodge's parlor that the New York Peace Society, the first in the world, was organized in August, 1815, though the proposition to form one had been put forth by him in 1812. David L. Dodge is therefore rightly entitled to be called "The Father of the Modern Peace Movement."

—governors of States, mayors of cities, legislators, college presidents and professors, clergymen, lawyers, men of affairs.

The founder of the American Peace Society—the man who saw most clearly the ripeness of the time and felt the necessity of bringing into coöperation all the scattered forces that had begun to work for the peace of the world—was William Ladd. Mr. Ladd was a wealthy citizen of Maine, a graduate of Harvard University, a man who, because of his vision of spirit, his intellectual fertility, his self-sacrifice and almost unequaled labors, will one day be everywhere reckoned among the foremost of the creators of civilization. The first suggestion of a national peace society, a union of those already operating, was made by him in 1826, in the society of Minot, Me., which he had founded.

Among the first members and promoters of the American Peace Society were Dr. Worcester, Dr. Channing, Joshua P. Blanchard, Rev. Joseph Allen, Samuel J. May, Rev. Charles Lowell, Moses Brown of Providence, John Tappan of Boston, Lewis Tappan, Anson G. Phelps, David L. Dodge and Dr. John Griscom of New York, Alexander Henry of Philadelphia, Simon Greenleaf of Portland, Steven B. Cleaveland of Cincinnati, Hon. Nathaniel A. Haven of Portsmouth, N. H., Hon. John T. Gilman, Governor of New Hampshire, Dr. Edward Payson, Thomas S. Grimke of South Carolina, and many others almost as prominent. In looking over the early lists of membership, one finds representatives of nearly all the family names noted in the early history of the country. As the Society's work went on it soon drew into active coöperation with it John G. Whittier, Charles Sumner,—who was won to the cause by the work of Josiah Quincy and William Ladd,—Judge William Jay, Elihu Burritt, Amasa Walker, Thomas C. Upham, Francis Wayland, A. P. Peabody, Gerrit Smith, etc.

The president at the first annual meeting of the Society was Rev. John Codman of Dorchester, Mass. From 1831 to 1837, Hon. S. V. S. Wilder, an eminent merchant of New York, presided at the annual meetings. From 1838 to 1840, William Ladd was president; from 1841 to 1846, Samuel E. Coues of Portsmouth, N. H.; in 1847, Anson G. Phelps of New York; from 1848 to 1858, Hon. William Jay of New York; from 1859 to 1861, Dr. Francis Wayland; from 1861 to 1872, Dr. Howard Malcolm; from 1873 to 1891, Hon. Edward S. Tobey; and from 1891 to the present time, Hon. Robert Treat Paine.

William Ladd was the first corresponding secretary of the Society, combining with this the position of editor and general agent. As he gave himself up to the work of general agent, the Society chose as corresponding secretaries up to 1837, Rev. Alexander G. Fraser, Rev. L. D. Dewey, Prof. J. T. Rostan, D. E. Wheeler, R. M. Chipman, Prof. G. Bush and Rev. T. H. Gallaudet. In 1837 Rev. Dr. George C. Beckwith, previously a Congregational pastor and professor in the Cincinnati and the Andover Theological Seminaries, became general secretary of the Society. This position he filled with great ability until 1870, a period of thirty-three years. At his death he left the Society a generous legacy to enable it thereafter to have a salaried secretary, giving

his whole time to the cause. The secretaries since that time have been Rev. Amasa Lord, D.D., 1870 and 1871; Rev. James B. Miles, D.D., 1872 to 1875; Rev. Charles Howard Malcolm, D.D., 1876 to 1879; Rev. Howard C. Dunham, 1880 to 1884; Rev. Rowland B. Howard, 1884 to 1891; and from 1892 to the present time, Benjamin F. Trueblood, LL.D.

The journal of the Society was first called the *Harbinger of Peace*, edited and chiefly paid for by William Ladd. It had several offices of publication, depending somewhat on the location of the editor, though New York was its principal habitat. After three years the name was changed to *The Calumet*, and the paper enlarged. After four years, in 1835, this was given up, and the *Advocate of Peace*, begun the previous year by William Watson at Hartford, Conn., under the auspices of the Connecticut Peace Society, was adopted as the organ of the Society. When Mr. Watson, one of the worthiest of the peace workers of the early days, died in 1837, the Society took over the *Advocate of Peace* and brought it to Boston, where it has been issued, on and around Beacon Hill, ever since.

Article I. of the original constitution of the Society declared its object to be “to diffuse light respecting the evils of war and the best means of effecting its abolition.” This twofold aim has been its object ever since. In its efforts to diffuse light respecting the evils of war and the desirability and practicability of permanent peace among the nations, the Society, in addition to the issues of its journal, has published and distributed many millions of pages of books, pamphlets and leaflets, treating of every phase of the question; has had from time to time agents at work in many parts of the country; has had, especially in its earlier periods, numerous branch societies; and has secured the delivery of many thousands of lectures, addresses and sermons in support of the cause, sometimes as many as eight hundred lectures by the agents being given in a single year. It has done what was possible in times of crises to prevent war, has used its influence to try to make actual hostilities as brief as possible, and to induce such settlement after conflict as would make strife less likely afterward.

Three years after its organization the Society offered a prize of fifty dollars for the best essay on a Congress of Nations. This was afterwards increased to five hundred dollars, and then to a thousand, by friends of the Society, and the result was finally, in 1840, a book of seven hundred pages of “Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations,” which left nothing to be said on the subject of a congress and high court of nations. Other prizes have been offered from time to time for essays on different phases of the question of peace and war, including one of five hundred dollars for the best review of the war with Mexico.

The Society of Christian Morals in France, the first organization on the Continent of Europe to take up the advocacy of peace, was founded at the instigation of Hon. S. V. S. Wilder of New York, president of the American Peace Society, in the thirties.

The international peace congresses practically originated with the Society. On the 26th of July, 1841, the suggestion of such a congress was first made by Joseph Sturge of England at a meeting in Boston of its most

active members. The subject was taken up at once and promoted by the Society, and the result was, in 1843, the great Congress in Exeter Hall, London, organized by the London Peace Society, which was attended by three hundred and thirty-seven delegates, thirty-seven of whom were from America. Out of this first gathering grew the congresses of 1848-1851, and the recent series, now so influential in Europe and America through their annual meetings and the work of the International Peace Bureau, which they have founded and maintain.

In 1873 the Secretary of the American Peace Society, Dr. James B. Miles, made an extended trip to Europe for the purpose of bringing about the organization of an association for the improvement of international law. The result was the creation in the autumn of that year of the Association for the Codification and Reform of International Law, whose first president was the distinguished David Dudley Field. This Association, now called the International Law Association, has held twenty-three conferences, the last of which, held at Berlin, was presided over by Dr. Koch, president of the Imperial Bank of Germany, and consists to-day of more than four hundred members, among whom are a number of the most distinguished jurists of the world. It is one of the foremost of the agencies working for the unity and peace of the world.

The American Peace Society has been the agency through which has been given us some of our peace literature of the highest quality and most lasting value. In 1838 its Executive Committee provided for a course of weekly lectures in Boston. One of the lectures of this course was Emerson's celebrated essay on war, found in his "Miscellanies," and another the second of Channing's famous discourses on war, as now found in his complete works. We should never have had Sumner's oration on "The True Grandeur of Nations," delivered before the citizens of Boston, on July 4, 1845, while he was a Director of the American Peace Society, but for the influence upon him of the founder of the Society. His second oration on "The War System of the Commonwealth of Nations," delivered in 1849, a greater production than the other, was given at the invitation of the Peace Society at its annual meeting in Park Street Church. The noted works of Judge William Jay on Peace and on the Mexican War were written during the ten years that he was president of the Society. During the years before the Civil War the annual meeting of the Society was one of the important yearly occasions in Boston, and at these meetings were delivered the great addresses by Josiah Quincy, A. P. Peabody, Judge Jay, Charles Sumner, Gerrit Smith, Samuel J. May, Amasa Walker, Thomas C. Upham, Elihu Burritt, Thomas S. Grimke and others, quotations from which have gone the rounds of the world.

On the side of practical means for abolishing war the work of the Society has been no less earnest and continuous. Long before any of the recent arbitration conferences were held or thought of,—conferences which have had the Society's active support and coöperation,—it urged year after year the adoption of this means of supplanting war, when arbitration had but few friends. The first circular issued by the Society seventy-nine years ago this spring said: "We hope to

increase and promote the practice, already begun, of submitting national differences to amicable discussion and arbitration, and, finally, of settling all national controversies by an appeal to reason, as becomes rational creatures, and not by physical force, as is worthy only of brute beasts; and that this shall be done by a Congress of Christian nations, whose decrees shall be enforced by public opinion that rules the world."

The Society early moved for governmental action in the way of providing substitutes for war, and has continued this work to the present moment. In 1835 it brought before the General Court of Massachusetts a petition signed by several thousand citizens asking for the influence of the Legislature with Congress and with other States in behalf of a Congress and Court of Nations. In 1837 it was again before the Legislature for the same purpose. So also in 1838 and again in 1844. In 1838, in conjunction with its affiliated societies in different States, it brought before the Congress of the United States a petition of the same character. This was repeated in 1839, in 1840, in 1841, in 1849, and in 1853, but no definite action could be secured from Congress in those years. All the petitions presented to the Massachusetts Legislature, which as a legislative body has led all others in the movement for international peace, were favorably received, studied by committees, and resolutions were recommended and adopted, declaring that "some mode should be established for the amicable and final adjustment of all international disputes, instead of resort to war." The Legislature of Maine, through Mr. Ladd's influence, and later on those of Vermont, Rhode Island and two or three other States, voted similar resolutions.

In 1851 the Society, through Robert C. Winthrop, presented a petition to the United States Senate, on which the Committee on Foreign Affairs were "unanimous and cordial" in reporting "that, in the judgment of this body, it would be proper and desirable for the government of these United States, wherever practicable, to secure in its treaties with other nations a provision for referring to the decision of umpires all future misunderstandings that cannot be satisfactorily adjusted by amicable negotiation, in the first instance, before resort to hostilities shall be had."

The Society continued actively all these lines of its work up to the opening of the Civil War. It pleaded with Congress and State Legislatures for a Congress and Court of Nations, for stipulated arbitration; it initiated and coöperated in the peace congresses; it made every possible effort in behalf of peaceable adjustment at the time of the Northeastern and the Oregon boundary disputes; it threw the weight of its strong constituency against the wickedness and folly of the Mexican War; it sought through the addresses and the writings of some of the first minds of the nation to instruct the people in the principles of international justice, brotherhood and peace.

Peace work was practically impossible during the period of the Civil War, with its great passions surging everywhere in the nation. The Society held its annual meetings and kept up its journal, but the work was necessarily largely of an academic character and extremely limited. The Society, having been founded solely for the purpose of trying to bring about the

abolition of war between the nations, and considering the relations of governments to their subjects to be beyond its province, took no official position as a society in regard to the war. The members differed greatly in their views upon the Rebellion. Some were in favor of letting the seceding States go, others favored coercion, and still others, radical in their peace views, felt that while the storm of war raged nothing could be done except to remain quiet and to prepare for more vigorous work after the conflict was over. With this division of sentiment effective work was not possible, as indeed it would not have been in any event at the time.

After the close of hostilities the threads of the former work were gradually gathered up. The great conflict had furnished innumerable texts on the inhumanity and barbarousness of war, which were freely used to uphold the soundness of the Society's principles and aims.

In 1866 Congress was again approached by a deputation from the Society with a petition in behalf of stipulated arbitration and a Congress and Court of Nations. But the questions arising out of the war so engrossed the attention of the government and of Congress that no place was found for measures of peace. Throughout the nation also peace work could make little headway against the martial spirit bequeathed by the conflict. A sort of halo of consecration had been thrown around war, in the minds of the masses, by the misinterpretation of the great conflict, which had resulted in the abolition of slavery, as a beneficent creative agency rather than as the last horrible stage of the great iniquity which had so long imperiled the nation, and for which the whole country had been responsible. The idea of peace went consequently into great discount, and not until within the last fifteen years, if yet, has the cause reached the position of strength and public support in this country which it had attained before the war. The peace movement has, in fact, for this reason and others, found its greatest leadership and development in recent years in Europe, as the mention of the names of Henry Richard, Frederic Passy, Charles Lemonnier, Hodgson Pratt, E. T. Moneta, the Baroness von Suttner, Fredrik Bajer, J. Novicow, and John de Bloch sufficiently demonstrates. This martializing of the minds and instincts of the people of the nation, from which we have in recent years been reaping the legitimate fruits, was probably the worst of the many evil legacies of the great war.

The Society made such headway as it could against these adverse tides for the decade succeeding the war. It circulated literature to the full extent of its means. It established a western department. It sent out many agents and lecturers. It put its journal into places of influence. It sought to influence public men at Washington and elsewhere to accept the substitutes for war which it proposed.

The signing of the Treaty of Washington for the settlement of the critical Alabama dispute by arbitration in 1871, for the bringing about of which the Society had labored with all its power for several years, turned public sentiment back again to a favorable consideration of its aims. It organized in September of that year in Boston Music Hall a great jubilee meeting over the signing of the treaty, which it believed at the time was the beginning of perpetual peace between England and

America. The great hall was crowded to its utmost capacity. Similar jubilee conventions to the number of forty were organized by the Society's secretary, Dr. Miles, and Elihu Burritt, in all the leading cities from Boston to Washington, and in these meetings many distinguished men took part.

In the spring of 1872 the Society presented a new memorial to Congress in behalf of a permanent system of international arbitration, a high court of nations, which had been signed by some twelve thousand citizens. Based upon this memorial, Mr. Sumner reported from the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs a series of strong resolutions advocating a permanent system of arbitration. The following winter the Society sent its secretary, Dr. Miles, abroad on the mission already alluded to. Its anniversary meeting in Music Hall that year, when twice as many people as the hall would hold were turned away, was the biggest peace meeting ever held in America. In the great fire of that year the Society lost all the electro-type plates of its books and pamphlets, a serious blow to its work for many years afterwards.

In 1874 Congress was again memorialized, under the lead of the Society, by petitions from different parts of the country. The result was that on the 17th of June the House of Representatives unanimously adopted resolutions in favor of arbitration, and the Senate approved them, also with unanimity, on the 25th of the same month. These resolutions, those of Henry Richard, which were voted by a small majority in the House of Commons on July 8 of the previous year, 1873, and those passed by the Italian Chamber of Deputies, November 23, 1873, were the first approval ever accorded by national legislatures to the method of arbitration for the settlement of international disputes.

The work of the Society for the past twenty-five years, a period during which the peace movement has developed with great rapidity, is too near us to need more than the briefest summary. It has continued its work of educating public sentiment through its periodicals, its general literature, public lectures and the use of the general press. It assisted in organizing in 1882 a two days' peace convention at Washington, over which its president, Hon. E. S. Tobey, postmaster of Boston, presided. It brought before Congress in repeated petitions in the eighties the desirability of a conference of the states of this hemisphere in the interests of peace and better trade relations. Following its memorials, ten bills were presented in Congress for such a conference of all the Americas, until finally the Pan-American Congress, which met in November, 1889, was authorized,—an event the preparations for which are in large measure justly to be credited to this Society.

In 1887, when the deputation of thirteen eminent Englishmen, bearing an arbitration memorial signed by two hundred and thirty-four members of Parliament, visited this country, the Society did all in its power to make their mission a success. It organized, as a reception for them, the great mass meeting held in Tremont Temple on the 12th of November, over which Mr. Tobey presided.

The Society coöperated in the organization of the Peace Congress at Paris in 1889, sent a strong delegation to it, and has since taken an active part in the series of peace congresses to which that led. The secretary of the Society has been annually chosen a member of the

Commission of the International Peace Bureau at Berne since the second year of its existence.

While the Pan-American Congress was in session in 1889-90, the Society sent to it a communication earnestly urging the drafting of a treaty of arbitration between all the American States. During that season also the secretary, Rowland B. Howard, was sent to Washington to use influence for the success of the Sherman concurrent arbitration resolution, whose unanimous adoption by both Houses of Congress marked one of the most important stages in the progress of the international arbitration movement.

In 1893 the president of the World's Congress Auxiliary selected the secretary of the Society to organize and conduct the Peace Congress held during the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago. In 1895, when Albert K. Smiley decided to begin what has proved the exceedingly valuable series of arbitration conferences at Lake Mohonk, the Society's officials were among the first consulted, and they have annually, on Mr. Smiley's invitation, taken a prominent part as members of the business committee in conducting the conferences.

In 1895 the officials of the Society made in person on two occasions earnest representations to the State Department at Washington in behalf of a general treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain. It has since been learned that the first steps were taken that year by Secretary Gresham in the negotiation of the treaty which came within four votes of ratification in the Senate in the spring of 1897.

In 1898, when the Rescript of the Emperor of Russia aroused the world, the Society, knowing that this was not an accident, but the outcome of the movement which had been going on and gaining strength since the early years of the century, welcomed the proposals as the opening of a new era in civilization, and threw the whole force of its organization toward their realization. It kept a representative at the Hague during the Conference of 1899. The result of this Conference, as everybody knows, was the organization of the permanent International Court of Arbitration, for which the Society had labored from the earliest days of its existence.

Exactly how great the Society's influence has been in the steady development of a better public sentiment, in the creation of the world tribunal and the consequent enlargement of the hope of final and permanent peace among the nations, no one can estimate. That it has been large is a modest claim to make. Especially fertile has the Society been in initiating movements for which the time was ripe. For many years before the war it was practically the sole organized agency in this country for the promotion of the ideals for which it has stood. Since the war it has seen the peace societies increase in number by scores, and develop into a great international organization, with its annual congresses and its permanent bureau at Berne. It has seen other agencies multiply on every hand — the International Law Association, the Interparliamentary Union, women's organizations, special conferences, special departments in associations, peace journals and a large peace literature. It has welcomed all these agencies and cordially and generously cooperated with them. It has seen war greatly decline in frequency. It has seen the number of cases of controversy settled by arbitration, of which there had been but

eight when it was organized, grow to more than two hundred. It has seen thirty-seven nations — all the important powers — taking part in these settlements. It has seen national legislatures, one after another, pronouncing in favor of this humane method of settlement. It has seen congress after congress of a greater or less number of the nations gathered to deliberate upon the important questions of common interest that have arisen. It has seen distinguished practical statesmen negotiating treaties of general arbitration between their governments. It has seen the insertion of arbitral clauses in treaties of commerce become a common practice. Finally, it has seen all the leading nations of the world unite in creating the permanent International Court of Arbitration, and this august institution now in successful operation. It has thus seen measurably realized one of the most important of the ideals for which it has so long labored.

That the Society's work is not yet done is evident when it is remembered that during its existence there has grown up, alongside the encouraging arbitration and peace development above outlined, the most complete, colossal and expensive system of militarism that the world has ever seen, with all the collateral evil effects attending it. But the very completeness of this system is rendering it increasingly intolerable, and is, the Society believes, the sign of its early collapse and destruction, if men and women of peace are everywhere faithful to their duty. It cannot long withstand the light and power of the innumerable forces which are working out the unity and harmony of the human race.

It only remains, in concluding this sketch of more than three-quarters of a century of peace work, to call attention to the steps which the Society took in the winter of 1902-3 towards securing the creation of a stated congress of the nations of the world, and to its present activities, in view of the approaching second Hague Conference. A Congress of Nations was one of the earliest schemes advocated by the Society. As shown in detail in the memorial submitted by the directors of the Society to the Legislature of Massachusetts in January, 1903, the time seems ripe now, after so much has been accomplished to bring the nations together, for them to proceed to establish, as the complement and counterpart of the Hague Court, such a congress, to meet at stated periods, to examine the increasing number of problems concerning them all alike, and to recommend to the governments the wisest methods of dealing with them. It is impossible to overestimate the service in promoting the harmony and prosperity of the world which would be rendered by such regular gatherings of eminent men of all lands for these high ends.

The proposition, as is well known, received the unanimous approval of both Houses of the Massachusetts Legislature and the cordial endorsement of Governor Bates. It has also met with practically universal endorsement wherever it has become known and understood. It has been approved by the Mohonk Arbitration Conference, by the Peace Congresses, and by the Interparliamentary Union. The latter body has made it one of the chief features of its program, and proposes that, as the first step toward its realization, the Hague Conference itself should be made periodic and automatic. Though no official action was taken on the subject by Congress when the Massachusetts petition was presented, the House

Committee on Foreign Affairs gave the Society's deputation a hearing, and much interest was shown in the subject.

It was on the Society's initiative, supported by other organizations, that the Peace Congress was held at Boston in 1904. The work of organizing and conducting the Congress, the largest that has ever been held, was performed by representatives of the Society, as was that of the series of more than forty supplementary meetings in other American cities. As a result, auxiliaries of the Society were established in several cities.

The Society was represented by an influential delegation of twenty persons at the fourteenth International Peace Congress at Lucerne in 1905, and by a smaller delegation at the Milan Congress last September.

In 1905, pursuant to a resolution of the annual meeting, the Directors created a committee of three to examine the subject of history teaching in the public schools in reference to war and peace. The report of this committee, made after nearly a year of careful investigation, has been widely circulated, and has, there is reason to believe, had much influence in awakening and directing the attention of educational leaders and of teachers to the desirability of so changing the text-books and the teaching of history as to lay more emphasis upon the development of the arts of common life and less upon the details of war and battles.

Most recently the Directors have given special attention to promoting the success of the second Hague Conference and to securing the largest possible results from its deliberations. In a letter sent to President Roosevelt on the 27th of November last they urged that the United States delegates be instructed to use their best efforts to secure the careful consideration of the following subjects:

1. The further development of the Permanent Court of Arbitration and the conclusion of a treaty of obligatory arbitration as general as possible, to be signed by all the powers of the world.
2. The creation of a periodic congress or parliament of the nations, either by making the Hague Conference itself permanent, periodic and automatic, or in whatever other way the wisdom of the Conference may determine.
3. The limitation and, if possible, the reduction of armaments by international agreement, as proposed by the British government and House of Commons, and supported by the governments of France and Italy.
4. The creation of an International Commission for the codification of the generally accepted principles of international law, and the study and development of those principles about which there is disagreement; thus raising the law of nations to a higher status than it now occupies, and making it a true body of world-law for the better guidance of international relations hereafter.
5. Provision that differences which nations exclude from arbitration, because affecting vital interests or national honor, shall, before recourse to hostilities, be referred for examination to a Commission of Inquiry, who shall make a public report of their judgment thereon.
6. The immunity from capture of all unoffending private property at sea in time of war.

The Directors have at the present time active committees on peace work in the schools and colleges, on work among ministers and churches, among business

men, among workingmen, and along social lines. They are just now arranging to establish in connection with their office a Press Bureau, with a view of keeping the general public informed, through the press, on the progress and claims of the international peace movement.

### New Books

*LA LOI DES NATIONS.* By E. Duplessix. Paris: L. Larose et L. Tenin, 22 rue Soufflot. In French. 235 pages.

This treatise is the essay which won the Narcisse Thibault prize offered by the International Peace Bureau in 1905-6, for the best work on "arbitration and the organization of a complete system of justice among the nations." The treatise is in five parts: (1) Prolegomena, in which the author gives an outline of the present condition of international relations, international law, the progress of peace ideas, etc. (2) A Program of an International Conference Preparatory to the Constitution of a Union of all the Civilized States. (3) A Project of an International Treaty for the Creation of a Union of the Civilized States—a Legislative Assembly, an Executive Committee and a Court of Justice. This part discusses the subject of an international force—army and fleet, the division of the expenses, treaty sanctions, and the reduction of armaments. (4) A Project of a Code of International Public Law. The treatment of this subject covers the greater part of the entire work. The author has made the attempt to draft a complete code of public international law, dealing with all the important matters usually discussed by writers on the subject. This fourth part is in seven books and contains seven hundred and eighty articles. Into the details of the merits of the author's system we cannot here go. The work has been passed upon by a competent committee and pronounced a valuable study, following the lines of present-day international development. The Peace Congress at Milan, on the proposition of persons who had carefully examined Mr. Duplessix's essay, voted a resolution recommending it to the careful consideration of the second Hague Conference.

*BULLETIN DE LA CONCILIATION INTERNATIONALE.* Paris: Delagrave.

This November report of the "Association for International Conciliation" (Senator d'Estournelles de Constant, president) contains accounts of some of the leading events of the summer and autumn related to the work of promoting better relations among the nations, especially those with which the French Parliamentary Arbitration Group has had to do: the visit of the delegates of the three Scandinavian parliaments to France, the Pan-American Congress, the mine disaster at Courrières, the sending of an address to President Roosevelt, correspondence with the members of the Russian Douma, the London Interparliamentary Conference, etc. The Bulletin contains, besides, a statement of the attitude of a number of the governments in regard to the subject of limitation of armaments, several important speeches delivered the past year, and a statement of the military budgets of the principal powers. It is a most valuable document, for those who read French. It is perhaps a